

A
D E F E N C E

Of the
Royal Society,

And the
Philosophical Transactions,
Particularly those of *July*, 1670.

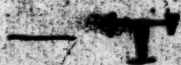
In Answer to the Cavils of
Dr. WILLIAM HOLDER.

By JOHN WALLIS, D. D. Professor of Geometry
in *Oxford*, and Fellow of the ROYAL SOCIETY.

In a Letter to the Right Honourable,
WILLIAM Lord Viscount Brouncker.

L O N D O N.

Printed by T. S. for Thomas Moore, at the Maidenhead over
against St. Dunstons Church in Fleet-street. 1678.



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To the Right Honourable,
W I L L I A M
 LORD VISCOUNT
BROUNCKER.

March 6. 1678.

My LORD.

IN the Printed Paper of Dr. *Holder*, which your Lordship shewed me when I was last in *London*, about a fortnight since, (which, till that time, I had not seen) I find great complaints of the *Royal Society*; Of the *Philosophical Transactions*; (particularly that of *July*, 1670.) Of the Publisher thereof, Mr. *Oldenburg*, (who deserved better things;) Of Dr. *Plot*; and of some others, (whom, because he did forbear to name in particular, I shall forbear it too;) but, most of all, of *my self*.

He complains (page 1, 2.) of *subtil Contrivances*, and *subtil Practices*; to abuse the Reader with false Shews, somewhat resembling Truth. And they be so subtil, and so resembling Truth, or rather so perfectly true, that there is not one Sentence or Clause in what he finds fault with, which (notwithstanding all his displeasure) he doth so much as charge with untruth. Whereas his Paper is full of gross mistakes.

That in the year 1638 (or at any other time) at *Bletchington* near *Oxford*, (or any where else) Dr. *William Holder*, (or Mr. *William Holder*) did teach *Alexander Popham Esquire* to speak, (as page 1.) If it be true, is more than I yet know: that he did attempt it, I know very well; but that he did effect it, I never yet heard any body say but himself.

What there follows, That I saw and perfectly knew this; that I resorted to *Blechington*; to see and hear Mr. *Popham*, is a very great mistake. I never

(to my knowledge) saw Mr. Popham, (either at Blechington, or any where else) till that very day when his Mother, the Lady Wharton, brought him to me at Oxford (in the year 1662) to stay with me, and learn to speak. Much less had I heard him speak; and least of all had seen Dr. Holder teach him.

Who were those many, pag. 1, 5. (or those few, if any) who did, on purpose, resort to Blechington on that account, (or, what they found there) I cannot tell; sure I am, that I was none of them.

'Tis true, I then liv'd at Oxford, (that is, I had an habitation there) and have (both before and since the time mentioned) had conversation with Dr. Holder, and had (before that time, but, I think, not since) been sometimes with him at his house in Blechington. But sure I am, that I was not with him there at any time when Mr. Popham was with him: For, had I been so, and on an account so remarkable, it is not possible that in so short a time (as two years, or less) I should so perfectly forget it, as then to take Mr. Popham for a strange person, whom I had never seen before; and, that (from that time to this) I should never (by any circumstance) call it to mind that I had before seen him.

It is much more possible, that Dr. Holder's memory may fail him, who, having divers times, before, seen me at Blechington, might think one of those times to have been, while Mr. Popham was with him: if at least it be true; that so very many did resort thither, on purpose, upon that occasion, as page 1, 5.

When Mr. Popham came to me, in the year 1662. (which was the first time that I ever saw him) he had (as Dr. Holder words it, page 3, 5.) begun to loose what he had been taught: That is, he had so perfectly forgot (if at all taught) that I found him not able to pronounce one word or syllable.

Now, if so lately, as in the year 1660, he had learned to speak so well, (as page 6.) to pronounce plainly and distinctly, and with a good and graceful Tone, whatever words were shewn him, in Print or writing; or, represented to him by several ways; or, as he had occasion to ask for, &c. (as page 5.) it is very strange it should so perfectly be forgotten within two years.

And if (as pag. 1. 5.) so many did then, from Oxford, resort to Blechington, to see and hear him; if it was then so publicly taken notice of, and known (not only to those eminent Persons there named, but) generally in Oxford; and that, from thence, so very many did resort thither, on purpose to satisfy their curiosity, and have a particular knowledge of what they had received by report. It is very much that there be now (as page 3.) so very few (if any) in Oxford, who know or think otherwise, but that it was the effect of my skill, not of his.

Habits so well acquir'd, do not use to be so quickly lost; and matters of fact, so remarkable, so publick, so generally known, so particularly inquired into, and by so very many, who did hear and see it, and did on purpose resort thither for that end, are not wont to be so suddenly forgotten, by the same persons, and in the same place.

However, if I have never challenged it, (as page 3.) I have, at least, done him no wrong. ('tis, at most, but, not being not so kind to him as he could have

have wish'd) to say nothing of it. And if all people give me the credit of it without my claiming it; surely they must therein be very kind, or there was some ground for their so doing.

What he adds, page 5. That I had discourse with him on that occasion divers times, when we hapned to meet at Oxford, is but a mistake like the rest; for I do not remember that then he and I had ever discoursed this in Oxford at all, much less divers times.

And, it may be, he will begin to think so too, when he shall remember, (what perhaps he did not so well consider when he wrote this) that Dr. Wilkins (at whose Lodgings, in Wadham Colledge, it was, that he and I did use to meet in Oxford, and but accidentally) was in the year mentioned (1659) Master of Trinity Colledge in Cambridge. And though he did, for some part of that year, retain his Title to Wadham Colledge, yet he was but little there, in that year, save when he came to resign, and carry away his Goods. And if I did at that time chance to meet him there once, it is more than I do remember; much less do I remember that I had then discourse on this occasion.

But, if his 1659. page 4. be the same with his 1682 page 1. the thing is past dispute. For Dr. Wilkins was gone from Oxford before that time; and the Meetings, page 4. (which he makes the Foundation of the Royal Society) had been there discussed long before, and were then held at Gresham-Colledge in London.

Not but that ingenious persons in Oxford, as they met occasionally, (whether in those Lodgings, or else-where) did oft discourse of Philosophical affairs: But the Set Meetings for such purpose (which had before been there) were then dis-used, and had been for a good while. And, what was of this nature at Oxford (about Experimental Philosophy) in those days, was rather at Mr. Boyle's Lodgings, than at Wadham-Colledge.

Nor doth he pretend that, from any such meetings this was commended to him, but from Dr. Ward, Dr. Wilkins, and Dr. Barburst, or at least some of them, (the same persons from whom Mr. Popham was afterwards commended to me, when Dr. Holder had given it over:). Nor, that at any such meetings it was discours'd of, or that to any such meeting it was known. But onely that it might serve the ends of that worthy Company before mentioned, and was known to those eminent persons above-named. (So warily are his words penned.) Nor is it pretended, that I was privy to that recommending, or was beforehand acquainted with that undertaking: but onely, that, afterwards, upon my resorting to Blechingdon to satisfy my curiosity (which never was) some after-discourses were had upon that occasion, pag. 5.

Or if his 1659 be not the same with his 1682 it comes much to the same purpose. For, though it might at some time in 1659 (without my privity) be commended to him (as page 4.) yet, if not before 1682 (as page 1.) he did reach, or bad taught. My pretended resort to Blechingdon upon the report thereof, would come too late to usher in those many discourses on that occasion in the Lodgings of Dr. Wilkins. For, in Summer 1659, Dr. Wilkins was gone, and Dr. Blandford then Warden of Wadham-Colledge; and 1682 must at least be later than the Christmas following.

If

If at any time before this undertaking (which I do not remember) he and I might chance to discourse of the Possibility of teaching a Deaf man to speak; it may be as fairly supposed, that *I might tell him* I thought it feasible, (for I never thought otherwise) as that he *might tell it me*. And, if we came to discourse of Means how this might be effected; he may as well be supposed to learn of me, as I of him. Especially considering, that my Treatise *De Loquela*, printed 1653. (at which he is now so much troubled) had then been publick for many years, and known to him. When his *Elements of Speech* were neither printed, nor written, nor (I suppose) thought of; and which (I believe) had it not been for that of mine, had never been thought of till this day.

If of late years he and I have had any such *Discourse*, (which hath not been much) it is nothing to the present purpose. For I am here charged with *what I saw and perfectly knew*, before my Letter of March 14. 1661.

And truly, if he did not teach till 1650 (as page 1.) and did in March 1650 go to London, and, *that Summer*, to Ely, as page 5. (before which time Mr. Popham and he were parted) and Dr. Wilkins long before to Cambridge: I know not well when (within that compass) he supposed those *divers times* should be, that he and I *happ'd to meet* at Oxford, there to *discourse on that occasion*; of my *resorting to Blechington on purpose to satisfy my curiosity*, and have a particular knowledge of what I had received by report, page 5. or to see and hear Mr. Popham speak, page 1. For the thing we must suppose to be Done before it was Reported; and Reported, before I Heard it; and this, before my Resort to Blechington; and this also, before those *After-discourses on this occasion*.

Besides this, I was my self very little at Oxford all that time, (and, much of it, my Family was also absent, in London, Kent, Essex, and Cambridge) Good part of November and December 1659 I was in London; in January I went again: and from that time till toward Michaelmas, I was hardly a fortnight together at home, and scarce a moneth in all; (partly upon occasion of my own affairs, partly upon those of the University, and some other concerns) which perhaps your Lordship may in part remember, if you call to mind what passed that year, both before and after His Majesties Return, and how much, during that time, I was with your Lordship.

However, let us a little consider his story, p. 1, 4, 5. In that time, viz. in the year 1659. *divers ingenious persons in Oxford, used to meet at the Lodgings of Dr. Wilkins then Warden of Wadham-Colledge, where they diligently conferred in their Researches and Experiments in Nature, and indeed laid the first Ground for the Foundation of the Royal Society.* And (at the instance of the said Bishop Wilkins, &c.) Alexander Popham Esq; being deprived of Hearing, and consequently of Speaking was recommended to the care of Dr. Holder; Who, desirous to serve the *publick*, and contribute something to the design of that worthy Company, viz. Improvement of *Human Knowledge, and Publick Benefit*; Did, in a short time, teach the said Mr. Popham, to Speak Well, to Pronounce Plainly and Distinctly, and with a Good and Gracious Tone, whatsoever Words were shewn or represented to him, or as he had occasion to ask for. This was publickly taken notice of, and known

known (not only to those eminent Persons, but) generally in Oxford. Whence very many resorted to Blechington, &c. Amongst whom, Dr. Wallis was one; with whom Dr. Holder had discourse, on that occasion, divers times, when they hapned to meet in Oxford.

How far this Narrative differs from the Truth of Fact, may appear in part from what is already said.

But we must not be so severe, as to consider this *Narrative* according to the strict Rules of *History*, (where the Writer should affirm nothing but what he knows to be true, or at least thinks so to be) but rather as a *Chancery-Bill, for Discovery*; where the Plaintiff (being in the dark) sets forth, not what he knows to be true, but what-ever he thinks possible, that would be to his advantage if true; in order to make discovery (from the Defendants Answer) of what he did not before know. Yet is not such Bill to be charged with falshood, though the things affirmed chance not to be true. For, though the things so set forth be (as to the Grammar) *Indicative*, (direct Affirmatives or Negatives:) yet, as to common intendment, they are to be considered as *Interrogatories*, to which he would have the Defendant Answer. And the same Latitude I am willing to allow this Writer, if he be contented so to be understood.

In Answer therefore to his *Bill of Complaint*; I do acknowledge, that, *some years before* (but not immediately before) His Majesties happy Restoration, such Meetings had been at those Lodgings, (though not at that time, viz. in the year 1659.) and that those Meetings might be somewhat conducting to that of the *Royal Society* which now is: But (without disparagement to Bishop Wilkins) not, that the first Ground and Foundation of the *Royal Society* was there laid. Which I take to be much earlier than those Meetings there.

I take its first Ground and Foundation to have been in London, about the year 1645. (if not sooner) when the same Dr. Wilkins (then Chaplain to the Prince Elector Palatine, in London) Dr. Jonathan Goddard, Dr. Ent, (now Sir George Ent) Dr. Glisson, Dr. Scarbrough, (now Sir Charles Scarbrough) Dr. Merrit, with my self and some others, met weekly, (sometimes at Dr. Goddards Lodgings, sometimes at the Mitre in Wood-street hard by) at a certain day and hour, under a certain Penalty, and a weekly Contribution for the Charge of Experiments, with certain Rules agreed upon amongst us. Where (to avoid diversion to other discourses, and for some other reasons) we barred all Discourses of Divinity, of State-Affairs, and of News, (other than what concern'd our business of Philosophy) confining our selves to Philosophical Inquiries, and such as related thereunto; as Physick, Anatomy, Geometry, Astronomy, Navigation, Staticks, Mechanicks, and Natural Experiments. And there discoursed the Circulation of the Blood, the Nature of the Sun, the Copernican Hypothesis, the Nature of Comets and the Nature of the Planets on Jupiter, the Oval shape of Saturn, the Inequality of the Surface of the Moon, the several Phases of Venus and Mercury, the Improvement of Telescopes, and grinding of Glasses for that purpose, wherein Dr. Goddard was particularly engaged, and did maintain an Operator in his house for that purpose.

pose) the weight of the Air, the Possibility or Impossibility of Vacuities, and Nature's abhorrence thereof, the Torricellian Experiment in Quicksilver, the Descent of Heavy Bodies, and the Degrees of Acceleration therein; with others of like nature. Some of which were then but new Discoveries, and others not so generally known and embraced as now they are.

These Meetings we removed, soon after, to the *Ball-head* in *Cheapside*; and (in Term-time) to *Gresham-Colledge*, where we met weekly at *Mr. Foster's* Lecture, (then Astronomy-Professor there) and, after the Lecture ended: repaired, sometimes to *Mr. Foster's* Lodgings, sometimes to some other place not far distant, where we continued such Inquiries; and our numbers increased.

About the years 1648, 1649. some of our Company were removed to *Oxford*, (first, *Dr. Wilkins*, then I, and soon after, *Dr. Goddard*;) whereupon our Company divided. Those at *London*, (and we, when we had occasion to be there) met as before. Those of us at *Oxford*, with *Dr. Ward*, (now Bishop of *Salisbury*) *Dr. Petty*, (now Sir *William Petty*;) *Dr. Barburff*, *Dr. Willis*, and many others of the most inquisitive Persons in *Oxford*, met weekly (for some years) at *Dr. Petty's* Lodgings on the like account; (to wit, so long as *Dr. Petty* continued in *Oxford*, and for some while after;) because of the conveniencies we had there, (being the House of an Apothecary) to view, and make use, of Drugs and other like matters, as there was occasion.

Our Meetings there, were very numerous, and very considerable. For, beside the diligence of Persons, studiously Inquisitive, the Novelty of the Design made many to resort thither; who, when it ceased to be new, began to grow more remiss, or did pursue such Inquiries at Home.

We did afterwards (*Dr. Petty* being gone for *Ireland*, and our numbers growing less,) remove thence. And, (some years before His Majesty's Return) did meet, (as *Dr. Holder* observes) at *Dr. Wilkin's* Lodgings, in *Wadham-Colledge*.

But, before the time he mentions, those *set Meetings* ceased in *Oxford*, and were held at *London*. Where (after the death of *Mr. Foster*) we continued to meet at *Gresham-Colledge* (as before,) at *Mr. Rook's* Lecture, (who succeeded *Mr. Foster*,) and from thence repaired to some convenient place, in or near that Colledge: And so onward, till the Fire of *London*, caused our removal to *Arundel-house*; from whence we are since returned to *Gresham-Colledge* again.

In the mean while; our Company at *Gresham-Colledge*, being much again increased, by the accession of divers Eminent and Noble Persons upon His Majesty's Return; we were (about the beginning of the Year 1662) by His Majesty's Command and Favour, Incorporated by the Name of *The Royal Society*.

All this while, *Dr. Wilkins* and *Dr. Goddard*, through all these changes, continued those Meetings, and had a great influence on them, from the first Original, till the days of the death; and some others of us, to this day.

This Digression, though some what long, is not altogether impertinent;

to rectifie what by Dr. *Holder* was so imperfectly reported, concerning those Philosophical Meetings. Which yet do not concern Dr. *Holder's* business, nor were at all interessed in it. Though (if I may use his words, page 11.) *with subtilty of contrivance, he speaks like Truth so artificially, that his Reader is to believe more than is true, (that from those Meetings it was commended to him, and to those Meetings it had been made known) else, to what purpose are those Meetings named.*

By what particular Persons, or on what Account, that business was commended to him, I cannot tell, nor was at all privy to it. Nor do I know who those many (or any) were, that resorted to Blechington on that account; onely, that I was none of them. Nor had I those divers discourses with him at Oxford on that occasion, which he suggesteth to have then hapned.

But now, what is all this to the business of Mr. *VVhaly*? and to my Letter of March 14. 1661? Was it not as lawful for me to undertake Mr. *Whaly*, as for him to undertake Mr. *Popham*? Had he, before that time, obtained a Patent for the sole-teaching of Dumb persons to speak? Or, was it a crime (because he had failed of his enterprize on Mr. *Popham*) for me to undertake Mr. *VVhaly* with better success?

Mr. *VVhaly* (whom he calls the young Gentleman, page 2.) was then about 26 years of age; with some of whose Relations I had been acquainted for 20 years before, and more, (though not with him, nor with his condition.) About a year or two before he came to me, an Uncle of his (yet living, and with whom I had been long acquainted) bewailing to me the sadness of his condition; and finding, by my discourse thereupon, that I thought he might yet recover the use of Speech, was very desirous that I should undertake him; which, a good while after, was brought to pass. Whether it were before or after Dr. *Holder's* attempt on Mr. *Popham*, that this Uncle did first desire it of me, I do not well remember; but I think it much about the same time, or before. Sure I am, it was a long time before I had ever seen Mr. *Popham*, or heard him speak.

When Mr. *VVhaly* had been some while with me, and I began to find the business succeed, I wrote to Mr. *Boyl* (then at London) that Letter of March 14. 1661. (of which there is now so great a complaint) in Answer to some of his, desiring that account from me; (as appears in the Body of that Letter, though Dr. *Holder* think fit to dissemble that matter.)

Dr. *Holder* had, at this time, given over his attempt on Mr. *Popham*; the Design being then deserted. Whether because Dr. *Holder* himself was weary of the business, (I cannot tell) or rather (which I take to be the true reason) because Mr. *Popham's* Friends saw so little of success; and to so little expectation, that they did not think fit to pursue the design further. Dr. *Holder's* removal to Ely (intimated page 5.) should have made it seem not likely. For Mr. *Popham* might as well, as he was thought to speak, as at Blechington, And, that his Friends were willing to have pursued the design, if they had seen a likelihood of any considerable success; we may judge, by their sending him to me in 1662. on the same account.

The great offence which is now taken, at the Letter which was then written, is not, because any thing therein was not True, or not Rationally said; but rather because it was (as he speaks) *so subtilly contrived*, that there is nothing in it for him to cavil at. And therefore he cavils at what is not in it, viz. That amongst the *Considerations* which induced me to undertake Mr. *Whaly*, I said nothing of Dr. *Holder* and Mr. *Popham*, p. 2, 13.

The truth is, to the rest of those *Considerations*, I might have added, *Nor am I discouraged from this undertaking by Mr. Holder's unsuccessful attempt on Mr. Popham, &c.* but I thought it more civil to say nothing of it.

He would now have it thought, p. 8. a *mocking of Mr. Boyle* (to tell him in that Letter, *How far*, and upon what *Considerations*, and by what ways, I thought it *Possible*, or *Fesible*) when as I certainly knew it possible, having already given *Proof of it on Mr. Whaly*.

'Tis true, I had then given a *Proof of it on Mr. Whaly*, (having at that time performed more on Mr. *Whaly*, than ever Dr. *Holder* did on Mr. *Popham*;) and, in that Letter, I told him of such *Proof*.

But Mr. *Boyle* did not think it a *mockery to be sowed*, having in two Letters, of Jan. 5. and Febr. 26. desired it of me; and in another of April 5. he thanked me for that excellent Paper.) Nor did those of the Society at *Gresham-Colledge*, to whom he did impart it, and before whom (in May following) Mr. *Whaly* was heard to speak. And nothing is more common, than (of things unusual) to shew, *How far*, and upon what *Considerations*, Others should not think strange or incredible, what we certainly know to be True and *Fesible*.

Yet Mr. *Boyle* did, in those days, live at Oxford, as well as Dr. *Wallis*; and, within as few miles, of *Blechingdon*; and, was as well acquainted at *Wadham-Colledge*. And, if Dr. *Holder's* performance were so generally known in Oxford, (as B. 5.) and in particular to those eminent Persons with whom Mr. *Boyle* was so well acquainted: he had the same opportunity, of being made acquainted with it, as I had.

And those at *Gresham-Colledge* did not want means of being dis-abused, if I had designed to impose them: since those eminent Persons which he speaks of, were of that number, and some of them then present: and (it seems) Dr. *Holder* himself was there also, and saw this, p. 6.

He might therefore as well, (if things had been as he now represents) have let that Company hear Mr. *Popham* speak, as I Mr. *Whaly*, (and they would all have been pleased to hear it) especially if Mr. *Popham* spake so much more than Mr. *Whaly*; the one but some words, and with a harsh ill Tone; the other with a Good and Gracious Tone, and did pronounce plainly and distinctly, &c. p. 5, 6.) I would certainly have been much more, to those who were to have seen Mr. *Whaly* so much out-done by Mr. *Popham*. And Dr. *Holder*, who was so desirous to serve the Ends, and contribute somewhat to the Design of that worthy Company, (p. 4, 5.) should not have denied them this satisfaction, if he could have shewed it.

But the truth is, he could not shew it; (and that's the grief.) For, when Mr.

Mr. Popham, the same year, (within a few moneths) was brought to me to learn, I saw no foot-steps of those effects, nor that he was able to speak one word or syllable. 'Twas therefore wise in him, not to produce him; as well as civil in me to say nothing of it.

However, If Dr. Holder had caused this of Mr. Popham to be publicly known; to many Persons of all Degrees; at London, at Westminster, at the Anatomy-Lecture; (as well as to those eminent Persons above-named, and generally in Oxford:) and went with him to London and Westminster, that those, on this occasion, might satisfy themselves, in hearing Mr. Popham, (as p. 5.) Why might not, as well, Mr. Whaly go with me to Gresham-Colledge and White-hall, that others might be satisfi'd in hearing him, p. 6. without so much clamour of my being greedy to spread my own Fame? especially when himself allows it, p. 10. to be very considerable and worthy to be known. And, if he may tell us, p. 5. that he taught Mr. Popham, by such means as are, since, by him made publick (in 1669) why might not I as well say (in my Letter of 1661.) That I taught Mr. Whaly, by such as I had, before, made publick, (in 1653.)

But the mockery of this Letter, would (I suppose) have been excus'd, had it not been published in the Transactions, eight years after. (For that's the complaint, These Considerations did not see light till eight years after, p. 3.)

I confess, it might have been Printed sooner, (if I had been as greedy and industrious as he would have it thought, p. 3. to spread my own Fame.) For there is nothing in it why it might not have been Printed the next day. (But not in the Transactions; for Mr. Oldenburg did not begin to write Transactions, till 1665.) But 'twas not too late in 1670.

However, 'twas written sooner; and Published, (though not In Print.) And 'tis well it was so. For, if Printing an old Letter make so great a clamour; what would have been, if I had at that time written a new Piece (to the same purpose) and published that?

But the great complaint is, that in the Post-script (yes, and in the Letter too) mention is made of my Treatise *De Loquela*, published in 1653. And that it is there commended, (which troubles him much; and he doth, at least six times, complain of it; p. 8, 9, 10, 13, 14.) That is, It is there said, (but it is so said in the Letter also) that, in this Treatise of Speech, I do very distinctly lay down the manner of Forming all sounds of Letters usual in Speech: And that, in confidence and pursuance of this, (which the Letter also mentions) I did undertake that difficult task. And why might not all this be said? Would he have had me say, that I did (in 1661.) pursue his Elements of Speech, (which were not publish'd till 1669. and which I have never yet seen) more than my own, published in 1653?

But (which troubles him yet more) the Writer of that Post-script says also; That he thinks this to be the first Book that was ever published in this kind. (True, and I think so too. 'Tis at least elder than his of 1669. Nor both Dr. Holder tell us of any precedeant than that of mine.) And all this, without determining that his (of 1669) is performed with more judgment and accuracy, p. 8, 10, 13. And this is the great fault.

He was (it seems) not willing, that it should be at all remembred, that any had written of that Subject before him. At lest, if he were not the First, he would be thought to have done it Best. And he hopes (though I will not determine against my self) that the impartial Reader will so determine, p. 10. Yet Bishop *VWilkins*, who (as Dr. *Holder* tells us, p. 7.) in his *Universal Character*, p. 357. mentions the *Papers of Dr. Holder*; doth not do it with any preference to those of mine. But (having there named a great Many, and some of them Great Men, who had written of the *Doctrine of Letters*,) he concludes, that amongst all that he had seen published, Dr. *Vallis* seemed to him, with greatest accurateness and subtilty, to have considered the *Philosophy of Articulate Sounds*.

Had not this Treatise of mine been remembred, He hoped to have passed for the First Author in that kind. For, that his should be thought earlier than that of Bishop *VWilkins*, he had provided, by what he tells us (p. 7.) that some *Papers of Dr. Holders* were communicated to the Bishop, and by him mentioned; (which we must suppose to be these;) and that those *Papers* were lost in the *Bishops Study*, (together with all his own) in the dreadful Fire of London, 1666. (and, therefore, must at least have been so antient; and none but mine, of 1653. may pretend to precedence.)

That some of the *Bishops Papers*, (that is, so much of the *Fair Copy* of his *Universal Character* as was then unprinted,) were lost in the Fire of London, is true: But, not in the *Bishops Study*, (as is here pretended) but, at the *Printing-house*, (as the Bishop himself, and Mr. *Gillibrand*, for whom it was printing, did both tell me) where Dr. *Holder's Papers* are not pretended to have been. Nor were the Bishop's Own *Papers All lost*, (as is here affirmed.) But, of what was printed, *Two Copies* were preserved. And, out of his *Foul Papers*, (as himself told me) which were preserved also, he did retrieve what of the *Fair Copy* was lost. Nor is it likely, (the Fire having burnt for some days, before it came thither) that Himself, (if at home) and those about him, should be All so negligent, as that no care was taken of any of his *Papers*, but that they should be *All lost*. (Which, though it do not much concern the present business, yet it shews how apt he is to Trip in matters of Fact.) Whether Dr. *Holder's Papers* were then lost, or where they were lost, I know not: And I as little know whether, and by whom, Dr. *Holder* was importuned to renew those *Papers*, as we are told, p. 7.

However, Those *Elements of Speech*, with its *Appendix*, may (for ought I know) be an excellent Piece; (and, for ought I know, it may be the contrary.) I never read either the One or the Other. Nor do I know that I ever saw it; at least, not so as to read a Line of it. (It's possible I may have seen the Book lying on a Table, or standing on a Shelf in a Book-seller's Shop, or the like; but without knowing the particular contents of it. Nor do I know (otherwise than as he now tells me) whether any one word therein do concern Me, or Mr. *Popham*, or the *Business in hand*. So far was I from being startled (as p. 7.) at the contents of it, or contriving to counterplot it.

Nor do I think my self concern'd, on this occasion, to seek it out. If there be

be any thing in it of like import with what he doth now publish; or which doth otherwise need an Answer: it is unknown to me; and may (I suppose) without more ado, receive its Answer from hence.

The same *Post-script* says also, (and it says True;) that *Mr. Whaly* is not the only person on whom I have shewed the effect of my skill; But I have since done the like for another, meaning Mr. Popbam. And Dr. Holder himself, p. 10, 11. cannot deny it to be all true. But it is not true (he tells us, p. 11.) that either Mr. Oldenburg or Dr. Plot did Know or Write any thing of these matters, but what was put into their hands by me. (And he would have the like to be thought of all other Authors by whom I have been commended, p. 3. that they are but large Characters of my own Graving: that so he may at once destroy all the good things that any body hath said of me; or, shall say.)

As to Dr. Plot, I shall speak by and by. Mr. Oldenburg is dead; and cannot now be asked, What he Knew, or Wrote; nor answer for himself. (I shall therefore do it for him.) The best is, there is nothing there said, which is not True, or which he did not Know, (and a great many more beside him) or which was not Fitting for him to say: Nothing which he did not say Wittingly and Willingly; and nothing (I suppose) which he would Un-say were he now alive. And strange it is that Dr. Holder should persuade us, that Mr. Oldenburg knew nothing of all this. He did Know, that I had taught Mr. Whaly to speak; and that Mr. Whaly was at Gresham-Colledge, and was heard to speak there; and what was thereupon the sense of those present: (For himself was one of them, and did See him, and Hear him speak there; and heard what the company did express as their sense of it.) He knew, that this was there Registered: (For himself did it, as being then the Secretary of that Society.) He knew (from his own Register and Memorials, not from me) that this was on May 21. 1662. As to what is said to have been done at White-hall and my own house; He knew them from the Notoreity of the Fact, and from the Relation of Persons present, whom he had no reason to disbelieve. He knew then (and many years before) my *English Grammar*, and my *Treatise of Speech* (prefixed thereunto,) which (the Title-page tells him) was Printed in the year 1653. He knew also, that of Bishop Wilkins's *Universal Character* (published in 1668.) and that of Dr. Holder's *Elements of Speech*, publish'd in 1669. (and gives a particular account of Both: The one, in his Transactions of May, 1668. The other, in that of May, 1669;) and, that Both those, were since mine of 1653. And, if he did not think fit, to deliver an Opinion, Whether theirs or mine were Better; He knew this also. And he could not but know, That the way to Teach a Deaf person, to speak; must be, by reaching How to apply the Instruments of Speech to Form such Sounds; which is the profess'd design of that Treatise of mine. And, That, in teaching Mr. Whaly, I pursu'd that Treatise, and did in that Letter refer to it; he knew also, (for he saw it there.) And all these things, which he did thus Know, if he had not also been willing to say: He would not have there inferred. Nor would he have said, It was a difficult task; or, that it was ingeniously and successfully

cessfully Begun; or, that he thought that Treatise of mine to be the first Book that was ever publish'd in that kind; if he had not Thought so. (And he could not but Know, he did thus Think: And Dr. Holder, I suppose, Thinks so too.) Now, if he did Know, and Think all this: Why was it unfit for him to say it? And, with what ingenuity doth Dr. Holder then insinuate, as if Mr. Oldenburg knew nothing of all these matters; but did merely take it upon trust from me?

He knew also, what he says further (which Dr. Holder seems most displeased at,) That *this was not the only person, on whom the said Doctor hath shewed the effect of his skill, but he hath since done the like for another*; (meaning Mr. Popham:) For this of Mr. Popham, was at that time as Notorious and well Known, as that of Mr. Whaly. And I know not well how he could express it more softly, then by saying, that on him also I had shewed some effect of my skill. That the thing said, is true; Dr. Holder himself is so kind to me as not to deny; but says freely, (p. 10.) that what I perform'd on those two Gentlemen (Mr. Whaly and Mr. Popham;) he esteems very Considerable; and Worthy to be Known and Valued. And if, by doing the like for him, I mean no more but, that I so taught him to speak as I had done for Mr. Whaly; he allows that to be true also, p. 11. And, if my Teaching Dumb Persons, be meant but of Two such, meaning these two;) he doth there affirm it. That is, He allows All to be True that is there said of me: And Mr. Oldenburg knew it so to be.

But he excepts, p. 8. That *this is added by way of Comment on the Letter*; and that Mr. Popham's name is (wisely) omitted.

I confess, some part of it may be called a *Comment on that Letter*; (for it tells, what is the Name of the Person which the Letter mentions; and, in what *Tear*, the *Treatise of Speech*, and the *Englifo Grammar*, there mentioned, were Printed.) But, as to the rest, I should rather have called it a *Narrative of what happen'd after the Letter was written*. And it was but necessary: For it might be well supposed, that those who should find, in the Letter, What had been undertaken, would be willing to know, with what success. (And, of that, there could not well have been less said than is.) And, my teaching Mr. Popham, being at that time as much known, if not more, than of Mr. Whaly; it would not have been congruous to Mr. Oldenburg's design in publishing his Transactions, not to take any notice of him at all.

As for that of *not naming Mr. Popham*. It is true, his Name is omitted; and (I think) *not unwisely*. For it is possible, that He, or his Relations, (being Persons of Quality,) would not care to have that infirmity of his, so publicly exposed by Name. (And, whether they will think it more kindly done of Mr. Oldenburg in sparing to name him; or of Dr. Holder who thus proclaims it, and brings his Name upon the Stage: is for them to judge rather than me.) But, why Dr. Holder should be concerned for *not naming* Mr. Popham; or what Prejudice to himself he apprehends by it; or, what Plot he fancies in it, I cannot tell.

How far I might be concerned in Penning that Post-script, (which is the thing

thing with which Dr. *Holder* labours so oft to reproach me; *twelve* times at least, p. 3, 8, 9, 11, 12, 13, 14.) I do not at present so well remember. Some of it, it's like, Mr. *Oldenburg* had from me, (because it relates to what was done in my Family:) and some of it certainly was his own; which relates to his own Register; (for it is, what I could not have told without him:) and the whole (which is not much) is what he knew, and what he was willing to say: And then, it is not much material who did write it; (Himself, his Clerk, or I:) nor do I think it any fault at all in Him or Me. There is nothing more usual, than for one to Draw that Writing, which another is to Sign; (a Secretary, for his Lord; a Clerk, for his Master; a Lawyer, for his Client; and, one Friend, for another:) and, in men of much Business it must needs be so. And, when it is so, it must be writ in such a Phrase as is proper for him to use (not who Pens it, but) whose Act it is to be; and by whom it is to be allowed and owned before it becomes his Act. And Dr. *Holder* himself (who would have it thought a crime in me) doth not deny but that his *Narrative*, p. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. was of *his own Penning*, (but, as in Mr. *Oldenburg's Name*,) and was by him put into Mr. *Oldenburg's hand*, (p. 9.) desiring to have it inserted in the *Transactions*, (and complains, greatly, that it was not so done.) And I have reason to believe, that what is said of Dr. *Holder*, and his *Elements*, and *Appendix*, in the *Transactions of May, 1669*; was of *his Own Penning* also, but in *Mr. Oldenburg's name*. In the present case, (who ever wrote it,) I do not find any Clause, or Word, therein; which is not proper enough for Me to Write, or Him to say, or what he did not actually approve and own. However, (if that will do him any pleasure) I will give him leave to change the style; and, what is said Of me, in the Third Person, to read as said By me, in the First Person; (leaving out the word *Ingenuously*, if he do not think it belong to me:) and I will then be answerable for it all: (the rather, because Mr. *Oldenburg* is not now alive to answer for it.)

That which Dr. *Holder* is troubled at herein, is but an *Omission*. Not, that any thing of this is Untrue, or Unfit: (he is rather troubled, that nothing is so:) But, that *somewhat else* is not said. Somewhat he had amind should be said, which I could not say; (and, I am afraid, no body else:) That Dr. *Holder* had taught Mr. *Popham* to Speak Well; to Pronounce Plainly and Distinctly, with a Good and Graceful Tone, whatsoever Words, &c. which he doth not there find.

Hinc illa lachryma! Mr. *Oldenburg* in his *Transactions of July 1670*. tells, what was done by Me; without saying (at the same time) What was done by Dr. *Holder*: like as, in those of *May, 1669*, he had said, What was done By Dr. *Holder*; without saying, what (of that kind) had been done by Me. And he doth, in the one place, Commend my *Treatise of Speech*, (published in 1653.) without commending his *Elements of Speech*, (published in 1669.) like as, in the other place, he had commended His, without taking notice of Mine, (which had been publish'd 16 years before.)

As for me, (so far as I may be concern'd in it;) I knew that, to touch upon this, was, to touch him in a sore place. I could not speak to his Satisfaction;

faction; and I was not desirous to Disoblige him: and therefore (as he phraseth it) *silently passed it over*; and left it for them to say who knew it. I do not know, that I have ever been heard to say, *That he did*, or, *That he did not*. The first I could not say (knowingly;) the other I was loth to say.

The case is this. In the year 1653. I published (together with my *English Grammar*) a *Treatise of Speech*: shewing therein, with what Organs, in what Positions, and by what Motions, all Sounds used in Speech are Formed: and that, upon such Positions and Motions, such Sounds will certainly follow, (whether he that Speaks, do Hear himself or not.) This (my Letter says, as well as the Postscript) I think to be *the first attempt in that kind*.

And there, to the commonly received Organs of Speech,

*Instrumenta novem, sunt, Guttur, Lingua, Palatum,
Quatuor & Dentes, & duo Libra simul;*

I add, one more, (and, I think, I am the first that do so) that is, *the Nostrils*; on the *Closure* and different *Appertures*, of which, (by help of the *Uvula*) the sole Difference in the Articulation of divers Letters depends: as of P, B, M; and of T, D, N; and divers others. Which (I think) no body, before me, had taken notice of. But I am since followed by others.

Some years after; Mr. *George Dalgarno*, at *Oxford*, appli'd himself to write a Treatise concerning an *Universal Character*; (which he published in the year 1660, intituled, *Ars Signorum*;) concerning which he consulted Me, (as he did also Dr. *Wilkins*, Dr. *Ward*, and others.)

I told him my sense of it, (as I did also to Dr. *Wilkins*) That the thing was certainly feasible in Nature, (upon such Considerations as that Letter of *March 14. 1661*, mentions:) But that I did not think it likely to obtain in Practice. Because this *Universal Character*, must be in the nature of a *New Language*. (Which he was so apprehensive to be true, that, having once contrived his *Universal Character*, he did, upon this suggestion, accommodate thereunto his *Universal Language*, to make his Character *Effable*: as is there seen.) So that, For all Persons, to Learn his Character, and to have all Books, Written in it; is the same thing as to Translate all Books into One Language, and to have this Language learned by All. Which if it cannot be hoped, of any of the Languages now in being, (which have the advantage of being already understood, by more than ever are like to learn that other:) much less is it to be hoped for, of a New Language, now to be contrived. And, in case men should be willing, to change the way of Writing, from *Vocal* to *Real* Characters: there would soon arise a like Variety of *Real Characters*, (each fancying his own way the best,) as now there is of *Vocal Languages*. Nor is it to be expected, That a general Law should be made, to confine All to the same Characters; any more than (amongst our selves) All Writers of *Short-hand* be confined to the same way and method of *Brachy-graphy*, or *Short-writing*: (which we find to multiply, according to the variety of Teachers.) And *Specious Arithmetick*, (which, as to so much

much, is a kind of Real Character,) hath not, in all Writers, the same Characters; but very different, as different Writers.

This Enterprize of Mr. Dolgarri, gave occasion to Dr. Wilkins (the late Bishop of Chester) to pursue the same Design (as himself intimates in his Epistle;) both as to a Real Character, as he calls it, (or Characters of Things instead of Words;) and the expressing those Characters by Vocal Sounds; (which he calls his Philosophical Language;) in his *Essay of a Real Character and Philosophical Language*, published in the year 1668; which is the Result of his Thoughts on that Subject, for divers years before; with the concurrence of Dr. Seth Ward (now Bishop of Salisbury,) and Dr. William Lloyd, (now Dean of Bangor,) and others; (as himself mentions;) with whom he had frequent conference about that Affair. And it would have been publish'd somewhat sooner, if not interrupted by the Fire of London, in the year 1666. Nor that he did expect, this Real Character of his, and his Philosophical Language, should universally obtain; and all Books be translated into it: But, to show the thing to be feasible; and divers Advantages which might arise thence, if it could so obtain. And, to demonstrate the thing it self to be Practicable; He was pleased (when his Book was newly made publick) to write a Letter to me, in his Real Character; to which I return'd an Answer in his Philosophical Language: And we did perfectly understand one another, as if written in our own Language.

In order to this Design; he found it expedient (for reasons by him expressed) to consider, the Formation of Sounds in Speech; and to engraft (in his *Essay*) a particular Discourse thereof (in Chap. 10, 11, 12, 13, 14. of his Third Part.) And, (because I had particularly considered that Subject, and published a Treatise of it,) he was pleased more particularly to discourse that part with me; which we did at divers Meetings on that occasion. (There being scarce any part, in all that Discourse, wherein I was not advis'd with.)

In some things; he was pleased, on those Discourses, to alter his former Thoughts for reasons which I suggested. As for instance. Some Vowels he judg'd to be of their own nature Long, and could not be pronounced Short, (as *a* in *Boat*, *ea* in *Food*, *u* in *Lure*, &c.) Others, in their own nature Short, and not capable of being produced; (as the French *e* Feminine, in *je*, *ne*, &c. and the English *u*, in *cut*, *but*, &c. Contrary to which, I suggested, that, in *good*, *goode*; *wood*, *woo'd*; *full*, *fool*; *pull*, *pool*; *wooll*, *wool*; *hood*, *hoo'd*; &c. there is a manifest distinction of the same sound (of the Vowel) pronounced Long, and Short. And in *recubo*, *terubo*, &c. we in England pronounce Short, the same sound of *u*; which in *cubo*, *tubo*, &c. we pronounce Long. So in *gula*, *regula*, &c. And the like of *o*, in *potent*, *impotent*; *dolent*, *indolent*; *redolent*; *solens*, *insolens*; *vola*, *evola*, *benévola*: &c. And that, in Musick, the words *cut*, *put*, may be sung as a Brief, or Sembrief, as well as a Crotchet or Quaver; (which depends onely upon the Short or Long sounding of that Vowel; those Consonants *c*, *b*, *t*, not being capable of production, but the Vowel onely;) and the like of the French *e* Feminine. And, contrariwise, *io*, *too*, *u*, may be a Crotchet or Quaver, as well as a Brief or Sembrief.

C

Where-

Whereupon he agreed with me; that all *Vowels* (and some *Consonants*) are capable of Production and Contraction; but that some *Vowels* are, for the most part, produced in common Speech; others, mostly Contracted.

So the English *Vowel* *e*, in *Bird*, *Smile*, &c. he first took to be a *Simple* sound (not compounded,) But afterwards agreed with me, that it was a Compound, of the Feminine *e*; with the Subjunctive *i* or *y*: as in the Greek Diphthong *ei*, and the English word *ey*; (which differs not in sound from *I*.)

And these are some of those things, about which (he tells us, p. 365.) he had, upon new Considerations and Suggestions, changed his former thoughts.

In some others, he continued to differ from me, as in the French feminine *e* and the English short *u*. Which Letters he accounts to be the same: but I take to be different, (that of *u* being a broader sound than the other;) differing as *e* and *u* in our English pronunciation of *fen*, *sun*; *iter*, *itur*; *téris*, *turtis*; *ter ter*, *turtur*; *p. xperam*, *purpuram*; &c.

He takes also the sound of the *Consonants* *y*, and *w*, to be the same with that of the *Vowels* *ee*, and *oo* rapidly pronounced: (and the words *yee*, *woo*, in page 371. he writes *u*, *w*.) And, consequently, the Latin *i*, *u*, *Vowels*; would not differ at all from *j*, *v*, *Consonants*. For the Latin *j*, *f*; *u*, *v*; had the same sounds with our *ee*, *y*; *oo*, *w*. Which I take to be different Letters; Because, in pronouncing the words, *yee*, *woo*, there is a manifest motion of the mouth in passing from the sound of *y*, to *ee*; and of *w* to *oo*; (which is yet more manifest, if the words be several times repeated, *yee yee*, *woo woo*. This would not be, were there not a different Position required, to form those Sounds. Yet he chose to retain his opinion; and I, mine.

He makes also some Letters *whispered*, to be distinct from the same *spoken-out*: calling the one *Sonorous*, the other *Mute*. Thus *M*, *N*, *L*, *R*, &c. as commonly spoken, he calls *Sonorous*; but if only *whispered*, he calls them *Mute*; and writes them *hM*, *hN*, *hL*, *hR*, &c. Whereas I take this not to make a New Letter, (because not a new Articulation,) but refer it to the common Affections, which respect the whole Tenor of Speech, not the Formation of particular Letters: of which there be divers. Thus the word *And* may, with the same Articulation, be sung in *Gamut*, or in *E-flat* (Bass or Treble); though with a different Tone: And may be a *Semibrief* or *Crotchét*; though with a different Time: And may be spoken *Softly* or *Aloud*, with a different Strength: So it may, with the same Articulation, though with a different Noise, be *Spoken-out* or *Whispered*; (in the former of which, there is a Roughness of the Sound from the concussion of the *Larynx*; whereas in *whispering*, though pretty Loud, there is a Smoothness for want of that concussion. Thus in these words, [*The roving Winds may blaze*] every Letter hath a different Noise when *Whispered*, from what it hath when *Spoken-out*: but, the same Articulation. And therefore we do not reckon the word *And* when *whispered*, to be spelled with other Letters than when it is *spoken-out*.

Much less is this (as he makes it) the difference between *V*, *F*, or *D*, *T*, or *B*, *P*, &c. that the one is (in this sense) *Sonorous*, the other *Mute*. For we may *Whisper* the words *Ved*, *Bed*, without saying *Fet*, *Pet*.

Nor

Nor do I think the difference between *V* and *F*, to lie in this; that *F* is formed by the two Lips; but the Consonant *V* is formed *between either Lip and the opposite Teeth*, p. 360. (he should rather have said, *between the Neather Lip and the opposite Teeth*;) for each of those Letters may be formed in either place: the difference of those Sounds, lying (not in the *Lips*, nor in the *Larynx*, but) in the *Nostrils*.

And, in the Formation of divers Letters, he gives several particular directions, which I choose rather to omit, as being but accidental, and not Essential to those Letters, (with, or without which, those Letters may be formed :) And it is our custom in Mathematicks, so to form our Definitions, as to contain just so much as is necessary to determine the Subject, and no more.

And these (I suppose) are some of those things, wherein (he tells us, p. 362, 365, 383.) *he dares not be over-precipitatory, or dogmatical, (but only, that he doth thus judge at present,) having formerly, upon new considerations and suggestions, so often changed his thoughts in this inquiry.*

But, in most things, we agree, without any considerable difference of opinion in him, from what I had before publish'd: And, in what we do differ, (which is not much) I might modestly enough (notwithstanding Dr. Holder's rebuke, p. 8, 10, 13.) *leave it to the Reader to judge, without determining against my self;* having not yet seen cause to vary therein, from what was my former opinion. Nor do I mean to concern my self (upon this challenge of Dr. Holder) to write against Bishop Wilkins.

It seems: Dr. Wilkins had conference with Dr. Holder also (as well as others) on that Subject: and (in the year 1668.) had seen some Papers of his written on that occasion. But those Papers of his, it is not pretended that I ever saw: nor have I yet read those which are since Printed in 1669. (And therefore, as to those, I have no reason yet *to determine against my self.*) Nor doth he pretend, that I learned from thence, what I had before published in 1653.

It is more likely; That, what I had before written on that subject, gave occasion to Dr. Wilkins next, and after him to Dr. Holder, to consider the formation of Sounds, and teaching of Deaf persons to do it: And, that Dr. Holder was not the first that thought of it.

However; that which I know of his business, is this; That in the year 1662, Dr. Holder did attempt teaching Mr. Popham to *Speak*; but, soon after, gave it over: (for what reasons, he knows best.) As to teaching him to *understand a Language*, I do not find him pretending to it; (so that, as to this, he will allow the work to be mine.) Nor doth he pretend to any thing as to Mr. Whaly; (so far therefore the Coast is clear.) What he pretends to, is, that he taught Mr. Popham to pronounce some words; (which, by somewhat of Rhetorical Amplification, is now called, *Speaking Well*, and *Pronouncing Plainly and Distinctly, and with a Good and Graceful Tone*, whatever Words were Represented to him, *as he had Occasion to ask for.*) In order to this, I have been told) he did direct Mr. Popham to those Painful Positions and Motions

of the Mouth and Face, which used to make him sweat so as to Drop: (a Method which I have never had occasion to make use of with those I have taught; putting them to no more of bodily pain, than we put our selves to in speaking:) But, what was the effect of that Pain and Sweat, I do not know. This, whatsoever it were, was in the year 1662, quite forgot. And Mr. Popham (after I had in good measure taught Mr. *VVhaly*) was brought to me to Learn.

Whether any thing of Disgust were in it, (that I should Venture upon what he had Given over,) I cannot tell. But, because such things oft happen, I was the less willing to undertake it; and did, on that account, at first decline it, as not willing to take anothers Work out of his hand; (which Dr. *Bathurst*, I presume, may still remember, who did once and a second time recommend that business to me from the Lady *VVharton*:) till Dr. *Bathurst* did assure me, that no more was to be expected from Dr. *Holder*, nor intended by him; and that no offence should be taken on that account.

When Mr. *Popham* (by that Eady his Mother) was brought to me; I found no appearance of those fine things which are now said to have been done by Dr. *Holder*. (And the stories, of My having Seen and Heard him, before, at *Blechington*, &c. but Fancies.) I thought it best, therefore, to say nothing of it; rather than to say, That, *VVhat Dr. Holder had Attempted, but Given over; I had undertaken with Success*: (Which would have look'd like Insultation in me, and a Reproaching of him.) If any other who knew more than I did, could say of him all that which he now says of himself; it was free for him, or them, to have said it if they so pleased. But from me, who knew it not (nor do yet,) it could not, in reason, be expected.

And, for the same Reason, I said nothing of the *Constable of Castil's Son*. What *Pablo Bonnet* says of him, I know not, (having never seen the Book:) nor what is said of him by Sir *Konelm Digby*, (as not having read that.) I have heard, it is said of him; That, *Onely by Seeing another Speak, (himself being Deaf,) though Distant from him the Breadth of a large Room; he was able to repeat perfectly what ever was said, though in VVelfsh, or Irish, or any other Language of which he had no knowledge at all, and which had never been spoken to him.* Which seems to me, very Unlikely, if not Impossible. Concerning which thing, I have also delivered my opinion in that Letter of *March 14*. (that I might not be thought to pretend to Impossibleities:) But, without naming any persons; in pursuance of the old Rules, *Parcere nominibus*, &c.

I know very well, (for I have seen it in those that I have taught,) That Words of such unknown Languages may, by a Deaf man, be pronounc'd. But he must then be otherwise directed, what Sound, or Letters, he is to Form: He cannot do it barely by Seeing another speak.

I know also, (for the same reason,) That a Deaf person, by Seeing another Speak, may sometimes Guess shrewdly at what is said. But it must be in such Words and Sentences as he hath been acquainted with: not in a strange Language, of which he knows neither the Sense nor the Words.

For certain it is, that the Formation of divers Sounds in Speech, is perform'd

form'd so inwardly in the Mouth, Throat, and Nostrils; and, the distinction of Sounds therein so very Nice; that it is not possible to be discerned by the Eye of a By-stander. But, in known Words, by Seeing the Formation of some Letters, (especially the Labials,) he may Guess at the rest (as we do, when, in a Word, we find a Letter or two mis-written, or left-out; but, from the rest, may easily know what it should be.) And, in known Sentences, having thus discerned some Words, he may, by them, Guess at the rest of the Sentence, or at least at the Sense of it.

And, when this very particular was, at *Gresham-Colledge*, discoursed, upon the occasion of Mr. *Whaly's* being there, it was then affirmed, by a Gentleman there present, That himself (beyond-Sea) had seen this Constable of *Casfil's* Son; and (having heard of these reports before) did the more curiously observe him; and found those about him to discourse with him by Signs and Gestures, in the same manner as is usual with other Deaf persons. Which (as he well observed) would not have been, if he, by seeing them speak, could tell what they said, and could himself, by speaking, give them an answer. So that there must needs be something of Amplification in that Story.

Since therefore I could add nothing (from my own knowledge) to what by others had been said of him: and (though I did suspect somewhat of *Hyperbole* in the case) would not concern myself to contradict it: I thought best to say nothing of it, (but leave the Report as I found it, upon the credit of the Reporters.) without going about to extenuate anothers performance.

And if any one else had, of his own Knowledge, affirmed as much of Dr. *Holder's* performance (without bespattering another;) it's like (whatsoever were my own sentiments of it) I should have as little concerned myself to contradict that, as I did the other. But should choose rather (if I might be permitted so to do) to say nothing of either.

Another great complaint there is, concerning a *Book of Dr. Plott*. (It seems, he is very much concerned for every one that speaks favourably of me, p. 3, 4, 9, 11, 14.) All that was past, might (it seems) have been pardoned, (as p. 4, 7, 9.) had it not been for this fresh occasion. The fault is this, That Dr. *Plott*, in his *Natural History of Oxfordshire*, hath said (it seems) somewhat of my teaching Dumb persons to speak, and of my Treatise *De Loquela*; as p. 9, 11.

Yet Dr. *Plott* he can Forgive (in hopes of a Reformation, p. 11.) But Dr. *Vallis* must be doubly charged. 'Twas I (he says) gave this fresh occasion, p. 4. 'Twas my subtil contrivance, p. 2. I practis'd it; I caus'd it to be published; 'tis I that penned, and spread my own fame in several Authors works, (and in this amongst the rest) they be large Characters engraven by my self, p. 3. 'Twas I (he says) thrust my self into Dr. *Plott's* work; I imposed upon that worthy person; that I therein renew the challenge; that I pass'd it into the Book; that those three whole Paragraphs (or the greatest part of them) were Certainly of my Penning; and that it may be justly thought, All the rest was so too; that I imposed upon the good Doctor, and penned it my self, p. 9. that I

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put upon him that great abuse, p. 10. that he hath indeed put it upon Record, but did not Know or Write any of those matters, but what was put into his hands by me; that I imposed upon him, and prevail'd him to say it as from himself, p. 11. that I do there explain my self, p. 13. with much more to that purpose.

Nor, that Dr. Holder knows this to be True: But because it is fit matter for a Chancery-Bill.

That Dr. Plott did sometimes advise with me, while that Book was Writing and Printing; is very true: And that I was free to give him my Opinion and Advise when he desired it: and he as free to take it or leave it, as he saw cause. (Nor was it a fault in either of us, so to do.) But I did not use to Pen whole Paragraphs for him; or thrust him upon saying what he had not a mind to say himself.

What is in those three Paragraphs; I cannot tell, (nor is the Book at hand to look,) and therefore cannot say, whether I am or am not concerned therein. But, if any thing be there (or any where else in that whole Book) which concerns the business in hand: sure I am that I penned it not. Nor did I so much as know that he had therein said any one word of that whole Affair; till he told me (after the Book was published) that, Dr. Holder was offended at it. (Nor do I yet know, what it is he hath said of it. But have reason to think, there is nothing therein said, but what was fit enough for him to say.) So that, if Dr. Holder could find in his heart to pass by all the rest (as he intimates, p. 4, 9.) as to this last, I may plead Innocence.

And so I may, as to that his great Aggravation, p. 9. That I knew this affair then to lie before the Royal Society. For this I knew not: (nor, perhaps, was he desirous I should.)

I know indeed, That (he and I with Mr. Oldenburg coming together one night from Arundel-house,) he made great complaint of us both, (but without any just cause in either;) Threatning, that in case Mr. Oldenburg did not Retract that in the Transactions; he would himself publish somewhat against us. And, to the same purpose, when at another time he and I with Sir Christopher Wren came together from Sir William Petty's house. And said, That he did forbear coming to the Royal Society, till he should in this be vindicated. (So great a crime it was, to have it said, That Mr. Whaly was not the only Person on whom I had shewed the effect of my skill, but I had done the like for another; meaning Mr. Popham.)

My Answer was, The thing said was Truth; That neither of us in so saying had done him wrong, or given him any just cause of complaint; That if himself had a mind to publish what concern'd himself without wronging others, 'twas free for him so to do; If he did it with any unhandsome Reflections on me, I should (when I found it abroad) either Answer it, or Neglect it, as I should see cause; That, as to Mr. Oldenburg's publishing any thing to satisfy his clamour, I would advise nothing one way or other (as being a person concerned) but leave Mr. Oldenburg to his discretion. (And I then told him, as now I do, that his story of my resorting to Blechington, &c.

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was a mistake.) Nor do I remember that (from that day to this) any word hath since passed between Mr. *Oldenburg* and me touching that affair, or that I have ever concern'd my self about it.

I now find, from what Dr. *Holder* tells us, p. 9, 10. (which before I did not know,) That a Paper of his own penning, but in Mr. *Oldenburg's* name, Dr. *Holder* desired to have *Licensed* by the Counsel of the *Royal Society*; but, that they refused to do it. (And, I think, with good reason; if it were what he now tells us. By whose *License* it is since come out, I do not know.) This he means when he says, *That affair did then lie before the Royal Society*, p. 9, 10.

Of this therefore, though there were enough to be said in Justification, if it had been True: Yet (because I must answer punctually to his *Chancery-Bill*) I must plead *Not-guilty*. I know not that any such thing did lie before the *Royal Society*; (And can but *Thank* them, for doing me that *Justice*, without giving me the trouble to make a *Défence*.) Nor did I *Pen*, or *Croud-in*, what of this matter is said by Dr. *Plott*. And Dr. *Plott* (who yet survives, and to whom Dr. *Holder* applies himself, p. 11.) will, I doubt not, be my Compurgator in this point.

But Mr. *Popham* also is yet *surviving*; (and of Age, able to answer for himself: (And knows as well as any, Who it was that Taught him. If he be ask'd, Whether Dr. *Holder* taught him to speak? He will answer, No. If, Whether Dr. *Wallis*? He will answer, I. For I have been present, when he hath been asked Both Questions, and given Those Answers: (without being prompted so to do.)

The Bottom of the Business seems to be this. Dr. *Holder* having Attempted, what he soon Gave-over, concerning Mr. *Popham* (in 1660 ;) was a little concern'd that I should (the next year) undertake Mr. *Whaly* with better success. (Had I then proceeded with Mr. *Popham*, it would have been but to Go-on where he Left; and he might have been pretended to have done the Hardest part of the work: But, on Mr. *Whaly*, it could not be denied but to be all my own.)

And he could not then, (though he saw this, and was troubled at it, p. 6.) shew the like effect of his skill on Mr. *Popham*. (Because he had either Not-Learned, or had Forgot it.)

And he was yet more concerned; when, upon this Success on Mr. *Whaly*, Mr. *Popham* also (whom he had quitted) was brought to me.

And, seeing me to have a like Success on Mr. *Popham*, as before on Mr. *Whaly*; He would now (play an After-game, and) have it thought, That it was He, not I, that taught Mr. *Popham* to speak: and that, what he now hath, was learned from Dr. *Holder*; without allowing, that Dr. *Wallis* had any share in it. And cannot be content to say, He had taught Mr. *Popham* somewhat, and leave it to some of his Friends who knew it (for I do not) to say *How much*: But makes it a crime to say, That I have since

since shewed any effect of my skill on Mr. Popham. (For this is all he hath to cavil at. And yet he allows it to be true, p. 10.)

And then imagins *Plois*, and *Practises*, *Designs*, and *Subtil Contrivances*, And a great many more Fancies of his own Brain; which never came into my Thoughts. (With which I am charged above twenty times at least, p. 1, 2, 3, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 13, 14.)

He first imagins, that I had a long aking Tooth, to joyn to my other Trophies, what was performed by Dr. Holder. (He should rather have said, To have the credit of *Performing*, what Dr. Holder did *Attempt*, but gave-over without performing, and so it came to nothing.)

Then; That, in order to this, I had recourse to a long train of *subtil Contrivances*. First, to meet with Mr. VVhaly, who being Deaf (from a Child) was consequently Dumb. ('Tis well I am not charged, to have contrived, twenty years before, that he should be Deaf, and consequently Dumb: but, that this should be unknown to me for twenty years; that I might then meet with him in an happy hour; and teach him to speak, two years after Dr. Holder had quitted his attempt on Mr. Popham.)

Next; That I should *Contrive*, to have this known at Court, at Gresham-Colledge: (as he had before contrived to have his *Attempt* on Mr. Popham to be publicly taken notice of, and known generally in Oxford, at London, Westminster, the Anatomy-Lecture, to Persons of all Degrees, &c. p. 5.)

Then; That I *Contrived* to have this *Entered into the Journal of the Royal Society, and there Registred*: (as though they had not used to Register what there passed, without my *Contrivance*:) and there reaped great Praise for this *Achievement*.

That then I contrived, (for this is the main part of the Plot,) That the Fame of this should bring Mr. Popham to me; who was now gone home to his Friends, and had forgot what he had been taught, p. 2, 3, 5.) He should rather have said, for that would have been the more subtil contrivance, That I had *Contrived*, that Dr. Holder should in vain Attempt, and then Quit this attempt, on Mr. Popham; and Mr. Popham should either *Not-Learn*, or loose what he had been taught by Dr. Holder; as Mr. VVhaly had lost what he had been taught by his Nurse, p. 11. that, when what Dr. Holder pretends to have done, was come to nothing, I might equally begin upon a new score with Both.)

He should here have added another Contrivance, (as subtil as some of the rest,) That I *Contriv'd*, not to begin first with Mr. Popham, (lest I might be thought onely to go on, where Dr. Holder left;) But, first to begin with Mr. VVhaly (to whom Dr. Holder could not pretend,) *Contriving* always to have it believed, that I could teach a Dumb Person, without the help of Dr. Holder.

He fancies next, That I *contrived, and practised with so much industry and effect*, to have Dr. Holder's attempt, (which was, before, so publicly taken notice of, and generally known, as he tells us, p. 5.) to be so quite Forgotten, that Few (or none) do now so much as *Knew or Think*, that Dr. Holder had done those fine Feats he now talks of.

Then;

Then; That I contrived, a *subtil Letter to Mr. Boyl, of March 14. 1661,* (before I had ever seen or known Mr. Popham; and before Dr. Holder's *Elements of Speech* were written; lest it might be thought to be written on that occasion;) giving Mr. Boyl an account, of what I had undertaken, and upon what *Considerations*, concerning Mr. *VVbaly*.

But, that I contrived further, though this Letter were then communicated to those of the *Royal Society*; yet, not to have it published in the *Transactions*, till a great while after. (He should rather have said, That I contrived, that Mr. Oldenburg should not begin to write *Transactions* before the year 1665; that my Letter of 1661 might not presently be there inserted. For this *Contrivance* is as true as the rest.)

Then; That I compassed to have my *small Treatise of Speech, in a subtil Postscript, to be commended and magnified by Mr. Oldenburg first, and then by Dr. Plot.* (He should rather have said, That I contrived to publish an *English Grammar*, to which I subtilly prefixed my *Treatise of Speech*, in 1653, thereby to Undermine by *Anticipation*, p. 10. Dr. Holder's *Elements*, which were afterwards to be published in 1669: and then contrived to have it printed again and again, at *Oxford*, and *Hamburg*, a second, third, and fourth time, that it might not be forgotten: and compassed to have it commended, by Bishop *VWilkins* in his *Universal Character* 1668, when Dr. Holder's *Elements* were not yet extant: and, after that, by Mr. Oldenburg, &c.)

Then; That I was startled at his *Elements of Speech with its Appendix*, published in 1669. A Book which I never yet saw; nor did I know (otherwise than as he now tells me) that I was at all concerned therein. But do now guess, there is something in it, which he thinks I ought to take amiss. Otherwise, he would not have been thus jealous for nothing.

I would advise him, on the next occasion, (since he finds some of his Conjectures to be Mis-adventures,) unto these *Contrivances*, to add two or three more. That I subtilly contrived, Not to be made acquainted beforehand, with Dr. Holder's undertaking. And then, *Not to resort to Blechington* (as is pretended;) lest I should there have seen and heard Mr. Popham. And, *Not to be much at Oxford* all that year; lest it might be thought I had so Resorted. And, *Not to be in company with Dr. Holder*, all the while Mr. Popham was with him; lest I might be thought to have had *Discourses with him on that occasion*. And, that Dr. *VWilkins* should, before that time, have left *Oxford*; lest we might happen to meet at his Lodgings. And, *Not to have seen his Elements of Speech* to this day; that I might not be startled at them. And, *Never to enquire, VVhat Applications* Dr. Holder made to the *Royal Society*; that I might not know of any such matter lying before them. And, That I never concerned my self to oppose him in it; that I might be charged to have contrived, that they should refuse to *License his Paper*. And, That I subtilly contrived, That Dr. Plot should say what he did say concerning this business, without consulting me at all therein, or letting me know that he said any thing of it; lest I might be thought (as is pretended) to have penned it my self, and cranded it into his Book. For all this is as proper matter for a *Chancery*—

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Bill, as what he suggests. And the matter of it is true ; without this, that the said Doctor did contrive, &c.

Now, if I had a mind to Recriminate, or put in a *Cross Bill* ; It were easy thus to do it in his own Form and Language.

In the years 1651, 1652, (as p. 1, 4,) and some years before and after ; Divers ingenious persons in Oxford, used to meet at the lodgings of Dr. Petty, (now Sr. William Petty ;) Where they diligently conferred about Resarches and Experiments in Nature. Which Meetings were some Ground and Foundation of the Royal Society. (Not indeed the First Ground and Foundation ; But earlier than those latter Meetings at Wadham Colledge.)

In that time, viz. In the year 1652. John Wallis, then Professer of Geometry in Oxford, near Blechington ; Having. (as p. 4, 7.) Communicated to the then Provost of Queens Colledge, some Papers, wherein he did describe and discover, How all sounds used in speech are formed, and may be produced, (whether, the Person so forming them, do hear himself speak or not ;) Was desired and Incouraged (I should have said Importuned, as p. 7.) By that excellent person, and zealous Promoter of Learning Dr. Gerard Langbain, late Provost of Queens Colledge in Oxford ; the Learned and Industrious Mr. Patrick Young, then in Oxford ; approved also by the Incomparable Dr. James Usher, then Arch-Bishop of Armagh, and Lord Primate of Ireland ; with whom he had the honour, soon after, to be conversant in the lodgings of the said Provost in Queens Colledge ; and by divers other Persons, members of that Worthy company before mentioned, to Print those Papers. (Not perhaps by any set Meeting of that Company : Nor was Dr. Holder, by any such Meeting of the Royal Society, Importuned to Review his Papers, p. 7. nor by any such Meeting at Wadham Colledge, had the business of Mr. Popham, commended to him, p. 4.)

He thereupon (as p. 7.) in the year 1653 ; Desirous (as p. 5.) to serve the ends, and contribute something to the design, of that worthy company, (viz. The Improvement of Natural Knowledge and Publick Benefit ;) Published his English Grammar, with his Treatise of speech prefixed.

This (as p. 5.) was publickly taken Notice of, and Known (not only to those eminent Persons above mentioned, but) Generally in Oxford. Where very many Students, on purpose to satisfy their Curiosity, and have a Particular Knowledge of what they had received by Report ; Bought the Book, and Read it.

Dr. William Holder (as p. 2, 5.) then lived at Blechington ; saw and perfectly Knew this ; was Conversant with Dr. Wallis ; was one of those who Bought (or borrowed) that Book ; did see and Read it ; and had discourse with Dr. Wallis on that occasion divers times when they happened to meet at Oxford.

Now Dr. Holder having a long aking tooth (as p. 2.) to do something to be talked of, and get himself a Trophy ; had recourse to subtle Contrivances. Having learned therefore from Pablo Bonnet (as p. 6.) that the Constable of Castile's Son, when Deaf, had been taught to speak : And having learned, from Dr. Wallis's Treatise of speech, How every sound in speech is formed : He thought it might prove (and there was reason so to think, if well managed,) a successful way of teaching Deaf and Dumb persons to speak, by teaching them so to

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Form, sounds as Dr. Wallis had directed. Not doubting (as p. 5.) but that a Dumb person, Dumb only in Consequence of being Deaf, might be capable of being instructed so to apply (as is there taught) the motions of his Tongue and other Instruments of speech; And knowing it (as another might have done) to be both Possible and Feasible, from an Example in that kind seen and heard by his late Majesty in Spain.

And he meets in a happy hour, with a young Gentleman (as p. 2, 4) Mr. Alexander Popham; deprived of Hearing, and consequently of Speaking. Resolving therefore to assume to himself this experiment; On him he would make the first Attempt (whatever be the Success,) that is remembered to have been made in England, (whatever had been done elsewhere.) And (as p. 3. Having got a hint (for which he always lay in wait) of a new Invention so considerable, (from a small Treatise of Dr. Wallis on that subject;) would (by putting himself into the Practise, of what Dr. Wallis had taught,) Intitle himself to the experiment.

All possible Noise is presently made of it; It is shewed (as p. 2, 5.) at London at Westminster; to Persons of all Degrees; published at the Anatomy Lecture; an express Relation made of it, naming also the Persons concerned in this experiment, so far as served his turn, (but not a word of Dr. Wallis in the cause:) And (if we may believe him (p. 1. 5.) a multitude of Students Resort from Oxford to Blethington to See and Hear it. (Magnis tamen excidit ausis.)

I confess, I was out of the Noise; and heard very little of it, (save what I have from his Paper; in which I find very great Mistakes:) And was far from Oxford, the greatest part of that time.

But the Cry did not last long. This (he tells us p. 1. 5.) was in March 1663; and (within a few Months after) the Summer following, he quitted that undertaking: Mr. Popham went home to his friends; the labour lost; and the Cry ceased. So that there are at this day very few in Oxford (if any) who Know or think, that Dr. Holder taught Mr. Popham to speak. p. 3.

The year following (notwithstanding this mis-adventure of Dr. Holder;) Dr. Wallis (thereunto induced by the Considerations mentioned in his Letter of March 14, 1661; and in confidence of his Treatise De Loquela therein mentioned; as p. 2, 8, 12, 13,) undertook another Person concerning whom Dr. Holder cannot pretend to any thing) Mr. Daniel Whaly; who having lost his Hearing while a child, was consequently Dumb, p. 2, (and had so continued for Twenty years more.) Him he taught (without any help or direction from Dr. Holder) not only to pronounce some words (which Dr. Holder had Attempted on Mr. Popham;) but, in good measure, to understand a Language also; (which Dr. Holder doth not pretend to; and, without which, to speak, is but like a Parrot.) of which, in a Letter of Decem. 24. 1661, he gave a short Account to Mr. Boyle, and (in answer to two of his, of January 4, and Feb. 26. desiring it) a Fuller Account in that of March 14. 1661; Which Mr. Boyle imparted to divers of the Society; (I do not say, to the Royal Society; because I doubt whether the Patent which makes them such, were then actually sealed;

led; though, I think, it bears Date a little before that time.) And (upon a further solicitation from him and them, by letters of *Apr. 5.* and *May 8.* to satisfy their Curiosity, and have a particular Knowledge of what they had received by Report, as Dr. Holder Speaks p. 5.) In *May 1662*, Mr. Whaly came up to London with Dr. Wallis; was Seen, and Heard at Court, and by the Royal Society at *Grasham College*; 'twas entred into the Journal of the Royal Society, and there registred; Dr. Wallis reaped great praise for this Achievement, as Dr. Holder speaks, p. 1, 2, 5, 6.

Yet did not the Doctor Impose upon the Society; or Confidently shew and Boast it, (as p. 12.) as the First assay that had ever been in this kind. For they Knew well, (and did at that time discourse,) what had been said of the Constable of Castiles Son, and his being heard by the late King; And had then a particular Relation from one of themselves, who had seen the Person. And some of Dr. Holder's particular Friends were then present, who might (if they had thought it considerable) have acquainted the rest, what they knew of Dr. Holder's Attempt on Mr. Popham. And Dr. Holder himself, who (it seems) was a witness of all this, and saw it, (as he tells us p. 6) had the opportunity, if there were occasion, to assert his own right; And might have had it registred with the rest; if the company had thought it had deserved it.

Dr. Holder, who saw this, p. 6, was concerned at it. As to Mr. Whaly, he could pretend nothing. Mr. Popham had lost what he is said to have learned. The Stories of Dr. Wallis's Resorting to Bletchington, and discourses with Dr. Holder on that occasion, were mistakes; and that whole scene ill laid. And should he have then pretended to have done the like for Mr. Popham; (*hic Rhodus, hic saltus*;) the company would have been glad to have seen that too (which was not to be done.)

But he was more concerned, when (as he tells as p. 2.) the Fame of Mr. Whaly had brought (to Dr. Wallis) Mr. Popham also; and that on him (whom Dr. Holder had given over,) he had (as p. 10) performed somewhat very considerable; that is (as p. 13.) had done the like for him, as before for Mr. Whaly.

He had, however, a Design, (by playing an after-game) to make the world believe in time; what he could not do, while things were fresh in memory and knowledge, in and about Oxford. And therefore (that we may still follow his own language (he had recourse to subtile contrivances, and subtile practises (as p. 1, 2.) Practising, from thence-forth to assume Mr. Popham's speaking wholly to himself (p. 3.) and not allow Dr. Wallis so much as to have shewed any effect of his skill on Mr. Popham, p. 13.

To this end, (that Dr. Holder might not be thought to have learned any of his skill from Dr. Wallis's Treatise concerning the Formation of sounds in) speech; he contrives to write some Papers of his own (as he tells us) about that subject, p. 7. These Papers, he compasseth to have mentioned (p. 8, 9, in the Bishop of Chester's Book, of the Universal Character, pag. 357. In the year 1668. But he tells us further, that in the year 1666, they were lost in the Bishops study, together with all his own, in the dreadful Fire of London, (that

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we may at least think them to be so old.) These Papers, (the Bishop tells us,) did concern the *Doctrine of Letters*: Dr. Holder tells us, they were to describe and discover the Method he had used in bringing Mr. Popham to speak, p. 7. (This, it seems, was what He aimed at: All the rest served but to hedge this in.)

So considerable he would have us think these Papers were, that he was Importuned to renew them (like another Phoenix out of its own Ashes :) And a little Importunity (we may think,) served the turn. He then contrives further, to have the new Phoenix, His Elements of speech (which we must now suppose to be those Papers) presented to the Royal Society, 1669; and to get their order to print it; and (as he speaks p. 6.) had it Registered, to perpetuate the Memory of his Achievement.

But Dr. Holder had a further Design in it. For these elements were to usher-in a subtle Appendix, concerning Persons Deaf and Dumb: and, in a few subtle lines, (which was his chief Design,) to hedge-in what concerned Mr. Popham; describing but (wisely) not naming him: Assuming Mr. Popham's speaking solely to himself. To which the other were only subservient; to make a noise, while this slept-in. Having therein made mention of his success upon a Deaf and Dumb Person, in tending Mr. Popham: As he tells us p. 7.

These Elements (as p. 8, 9, 10,) he contrives and compasses to have Commended and Magnified, (as in Mr. Oldenburg's name, but, I suppose, of his own Penning, in the Philosophical Transactions, of May 1669 as a Well-considered and Useful Tract: Concluding, with Magnifying its Usefulness, for instructing Persons Deaf and Dumb; as being by this Author, Excellently applied therunto: (Modestly said of himself!) Avouching therein His own Practise. Without taking the least notice of any thing Written by Dr. Wallis, and others (about the Formation of Sounds;) or the Practise (of Teaching Dumb Persons) by any other.

And here (as p. 9.) he is secure to gain this Point; That in a Book which will come into the hands of all curious Persons, Dr. Holder's fame is spread orth to all; and Few (he hopes) will ever happen to know, that Dr. Wallis (in his Treatise of speech 1653) had shewed him the way; (that being a Small Treatise; and written in Latine; and a great while since; and but annexed to another Book, intended principally for Forraigners desiring to learn English:) or, that Dr. Wallis had done any thing of that nature, either to Mr. Popham, or to Mr. Whaly; (there being nothing at that time said thereof any-where in Print; so little was the Industry, or rather so great was the Negligence, of Wallis, in spreading his own Fame, p. 3.)

And all this he doth, under Countenance of an Order of the Royal Society by him procured for the Printing of it, p. 7. as if they had been privy to this Design.) Which would have been yet more advanced, if he could have gotten their License for this his New Paper penned by himself, in Mr. Oldenburg's name put by him into Mr. Oldenburg's hand to be published in the Transactions, (as himself tells us p. 9. making the

the Transactions, his market (as p. 3.) and a Fair for this Merchant of Glory; if he could have found way and leave to croud himself in.

For who should now believe (when every body else is silent) that ever any one thought of a Treatise of Speech, or the Formation of Sounds, before Dr. Holder made this Essay, in his Elements of Speech? (For, that they must be thought elder than that of Dr. Wilkins, he had subtly contrived already, by getting him to mention some Papers of Dr. Holder, which might now be thought to be these Elements: and the small Treatise of Dr. Wallis, 'tis hoped will be forgotten, or known to few.) And who can believe, that any one but Dr. Holder, did Teach, or attempt to Teach, a Deaf man to speak; or ever thought of such a Thing, (so long as Dr. Wallis is silent;) there being no body then, in Print, pretending to it?

And thus he hopes to bear it out (as p. 9, 11.) with subtilty of contrivance; speaking like Truth so artificially, that the Reader is to believe more than is True: and it serves him to impose on those (Mr. Oldenburg, and the Royal Society) whose name and credit he borrows to commend him, who innocently suffer a demur Truth of his own penning, unwittingly to pass into the Transactions, suffering themselves (as p. 3.) to be imposed upon, to publish the Fame and Praise of Dr. Holder, in large Characters engraven by himself. (For that of p. 4, 5, 6, 7, 8. is certainly of his own Penning, though in Mr. Oldenburg's name: And if, as p. 9. we may, by that guess at the rest: and for some other reasons: it may be justly thought, That in the Transactions of May 1669. is so; at least of his superviding) Desiring and Designing (as p. 11.) the World would be so kind as to be cajoled into such a belief, when he prevailed with Mr. Oldenburg so far as from himself, what Dr. Holder imposed upon him. (And very much concerned he is, that this subtle contrivance takes no better.)

Dr. Wallis was so ignorant of this Contrivance, and so unsuspicious of a Design upon him, and so unconcerned for what is said in those Elements and Appendix; that he never yet read the One or the Other.

But so it happened the year following, that this Mine was sprung unawares, and, play'd otherwise than was intended. Mr. Oldenburg in the Transactions of July 1670, published a Letter of Dr. Wallis to Mr. Boyle, of March 14. 1661. And, as he had, the year before given a large account of Dr. Holders Elements of Speech (published in 1669.) and how this was by him applyed to the Instruction of Dumb persons; Without taking notice of what Dr. Wallis had Writ or Done: So now, (without saying the same again of Dr. Holder) he gives a Brief account of Dr. Wallis's Treatise of Speech (published in 1653.) and what, in pursuance of this, was done by him.

Dr. Holder (who thought he had put himself in sole possession of the Repute of this Experiment,) was startled, as p. 7. (or rather Nettled) for he doth Winch and Fling like Hudibras's Horse in such a condition, without any apparent cause: as appears by his printed Paper. He falls foul upon

on

on Dr. Wallis, Mr. Oldenburg, the Royal Society, Dr. Plot: and Dreams of Subtleties, Practices, Contrivances, Designs, &c.; nor body can see why; (who doth not see the Nettle, or know of the sore Place.)

That Dr. Wallis had, in the year 1653. published a *Treatise, De Loquela*; and, that he had, in pursuance of what is there delivered, taught Mr. Whaly to speak, and, had since done the like for Mr. Popham; are things True, and Known, and Notorious; nor doth he deny it. And why might not all this be said, without making such a Clutter?

Dr. Holder, it seems, (for so his Paper tells us, p. 7.) had, in his *Elements of Speech*, made mention of his success upon a Deaf and Dumb person, intending Mr. Popham, (which yet Dr. Wallis knew not of, till he saw it in this Paper, as having never read that Book, nor doth yet know what is there said; nor, how truly:) and Mr. Oldenburg had given a large account of that Book and the Contents of it, in the *Transactions of May*, 1669. (without saying any thing of Dr. Wallis:) and no offence was taken. But when, in July 1670. he gave a short account of Dr. Wallis, and his *Treatise*; without speaking (there) of Dr. Holder and his *Elements*, (as having done it a year before:) a great Out-cry is made, of *Wrongs* and *Injuries*, of *Plots*, *Designs*, *Contrivances*, and *subtle Practices*, and a great deal more of such *Ris-Ras*: As if every Body were bound every-where, and at all times, to magnifie his *Elements of Speech*, &c.

But it seems, (as p. 10, 11.) he could not help what was in his Nature, or else Habitual to him; and could not conceal his Particular Emulation. He Desired, and had Designed it, that the world would be so kind as to be cajoled into such a Belief, that he was the First that had consider'd the Formation of Sounds; and, the onely Person, who attempted to teach Dumb Persons to Speak. (For, if he designed any thing less than this, there was nothing there said to contradict him.)

Yet he himself knew full well (as p. 14.) Dr. Wallis's *Treatise of Speech*; and what he had done for Mr. Whaly, and Mr. Popham: But, the Reader must not know of that. The disclosing of this marred his Market.

He knew full well, That Dr. Wallis had taught Dumb Persons: (and he says it expressly, p. 11. So he did, for Two were his Scholars, Mr. Popham, and Mr. Whaly.) And, (if we admit what he there says; That they had, formerly Owed somewhat, the one to his Nurse, and the other to Dr. Holder: Yet, if they had equally Forgotten, (which is the case) the one and the other (whatever it were;) and, what now they have, they have from Dr. Wallis, (which, though True, Dr. Holder would not have Known;) and Mr. Popham, one no more to Dr. Holder, than Mr. Whaly to his Nurse: It might very well be said without offence, (that Mr. Whaly is not the onely Person on whom Dr. Wallis hath shewed the effect of his skill; but he hath since done the like for another; meaning Mr. Popham) were there not some Nettle that stings, but is not seen; or some sore Place wringed, which doth not Appear, but must not be Touched.

'Twas

'Twas nothing therefore, but being disappointed in this his great Design, which made him thus outrageous. And (persons faulty being mostly jealous) he being conscious to himself of such petty contrivances; made him fancy, that others were imployed in like Plots. And Knowing, it seems, (though I knew it not,) that he had done what I had no reason to take kindly; he fancied me to be studying Revenge, of what I never knew.

Now all this (as p. 1.) *if being but nakedly exposed to light*, in such a Narrative, *do seem severe, it must be imputed to the Matter it self*. And, if the Language seem hard, he must not quarrel at it, (like the Black-smith who threw away the Looking-Glass, because it shewed him an Ugly face;) since it is his own.

But I shall forbear thus to charge him, (though there be much more of truth therein, than in what he fancies of me; and the Language is his own.) Yet 'tis not amiss, to let him judge, by hearing it; how well it doth become him to use such language.

As to what he Complains of; the sum of what I say, is this.

That it was as lawful for me, to Write and Publish, a Treatise concerning the *Formation of Sounds*, in 1653; as for him to do the like, in 1669.

That it was as lawful for me, to Teach Mr. *Whaly*, to speak a *Language*, and understand it, as for him to Attempt, some what of this, (on Mr. *Popham*;) without Success.

That it was as lawfull for me to say, that *what I did* was in pursuance of what I had, *Before made publick* (in 1653;) as for him to say, *What he did*, was in pursuance of what he hath, *was Since made publick*, (in 1669.)

That it was lawfull also, (when he had, two years before, given over Mr. *Popham*, and all that he did Attempt or Perform on him was come to nothing;) for me to do the like for Mr. *Popham*, as I had before done for Mr. *Whaly*.

That it was as lawful for Mr. *Oldenburg*, to say, What he *Knew* of me and my Book, in the Transactions of *July 1670*, (without repeating, there, what he had before said of Dr. *Holder*;) as in that of *May 1669*, to say, what he *Thought* of Dr. *Holder*, and his Book, (without saying any thing of me.)

That it was lawful for Dr. *Plot*, to say, that he so found it said, in the place by him cited. (Especially when himself knew the Substance of it to be true; and had not cause to dis-believe the Circumstances.)

That when I could not say my Own Thoughts; without derogating somewhat from what others had said of the *Constable of Castiles Son*; and what Dr. *Holder* says of himself: it was neither Uncivil, nor Dis-ingenuous in me, to be Silent in it; and let it rest upon the credit of those who do, or can say it.

And

And, consequently, that Dr. *Holder* hath no cause to Complain of all, or any of this; much less to Write, Print, or Suggest a Paper, full of so many Great Mis-takes in matter of Fact; and so many groundless Sur-mises of Designs.

And lastly, that the Counsel of the *Royal Society* acted with very good reason; when they *Refused to License* that Paper.

I have now done with this unpleasing Task (For I take no pleasure in quarrels, or blemishing another mans Reputation.)

I had thoughts at first, to have neglected his Paper without making any Reply, (because any indifferent Reader would easily discern, that there is, in it, much more of Passion, than of Reason.) But I find others of opinion, that it was fit somewhat should be said to it; because so many are concerned in it as well as my self. I find, he doth mis-remember many matters of fact; and mis-times divers others; and fancies things of meer accident, to be matters of Design (a thing very incident to persons that are a little uneasy.)

He had attempted (I know) the Teaching Mr. *Popham* to speak. But (for what reasons he knows best) quickly gave it over; and Mr. *Popham* forgot all. What success he had in the mean time, I cannot tell. I saw nothing of it. (And therefore he made an ill choice, in calling me to be his Voucher.) If any who knew more of it than I did, have said any thing of him advantageously; I have never concerned my self to contradict it. That I did teach Mr. *Whaly*, with better success, and without his Assistance; he knows very well. And, that I taught Mr. *Popham* too; he knows also: And that I did not seek the Employment, or take Mr. *Popham* out of his hands; but, two years after he had given over the attempt when Mr. *Popham* (whatever it was he had learned) had forgot all. This though perhaps it might cause somewhat of regret; that another should succeed in what he had given over;) yet is no just cause of complaint. Nor do I find any thing in the *Transactions of July 1670*, which can administer just occasion to find fault with it; but if he will needs be angry, because I cannot Affirm, what I do not Know: Or, will needs go about to perswade me, and tell all the World, that I did See and Hear those things which I did neither see nor Hear: I cannot help it.

If, in giving your Lordship this trouble; I have already been too tedious: I shall now add no more to it, but subscribe my self,

My Lord,

Your Lordships very humble
Servant,

John Wallis.

FINIS.